CASTE IN INDIA.

ASTE EVERYWHERE.

HOW TO KEEP OR LOSE AN EMPIRE.

BY

PETER THE PEARKER.

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I. CASTE IN INDIA. CASTE EVERYWHERE.

Providence has seen fit to exalt Great Britain high amongst the nations of the earth. The revolt of the Sepoys in India, at the first aspect, seemed to endanger our empire in Asia, but recent events have raised a strong presumption, that, should a sound discretion be exercised, our dominion may be placed upon a more sound, because more honest foundation; and may be rendered more beneficial than the past, to the native population, as well as to general commerce and civilisation in the world. So far from the exaltation of Great Britain being diminished, Providence, even in connection with this disastrous revolt, has opened a path for increasing honour, if our Government and Legislature should prove equal to the occasion. It is true, that, as a nation, we ought to be humbled when we look back upon the mistaken and wicked policy of the past century in India. Notwithstanding our past misconduct, we are called upon to dictate the *principles* and *the form* of that Government, under which 200 millions of people, one-fifth of the world's population, are to live for a lengthened period of time. What a responsibility! Moreover, those principles, far more than the form, in all human probability, will deeply affect the destiny of the other four-fiths of the world's population. Should the Parliament of Great Britain fail in the momentous experiment about to be tried, should false principles build up a false system, centuries of misrule and misery might be spent in erecting the system, and centuries more in uprooting the baneful consequences of it. Look at Ireland as at a beacon. What has her history been for centuries, arising from a mistaken policy? What will her history be for centuries to come, before the final result shall arrive? Was it not a false principle that mainly produced the revolt of the Sepoys? Assuredly: it was CASTE. CASTE embodied in the very soul of the native population. CASTE

in the polluting forms of Paganism. Caste in the exclusive form of Mohammedanism. Caste nursed by our rulers in India. What a monster has this combined caste-ism (to use the new word) produced! The Sepoys lived in the contemplation of gods innumerable, embodying in their deities every form of pollution, cruelty, and lust of which degraded humanity is capable. The adherents of the traditionary policy ought to have lived in the contemplation of that God, who, with purity, and holiness, and benevolence, combines all might, all dominion, and the providential direction of the affairs of all nations. They hid the glorious contemplation of that God from the unhappy Sepoys. Who shall award the proportion of the blame?

There is an extraordinary shrinking in many minds from inquiry into the origin of this malignant principle—caste. Orators and authors appear to have forgotten their historical reading. They shut their eyes against the fact that caste-ism is neither more nor less than the love of superiority over others, the universal curse, which has its origin in the natural pride of mankind. The history of nations, and of religious denominations in past ages, has shown that caste-ism, this strange love of superiority has filled the world with mourning, lamentation, and woe, and the melancholy process is not near its termination.

It would be easy to specify as many forms of these struggles for superiority as would fill volumes. Let us look at a few examples when we condemn the Sepoys.

1. Feudal Caste-ism. Who can portray the wrongs and oppression it produced, and is still producing?

2. Spanish Caste-ism. Remember the records of the discovery and early invasion of America, with its accompanying murders, and massacres, and wrongs, inflicted in the name of Christianity. Even accompanied in some cases by the form of the rite of baptism administered to crowds, *and the merciful murder of the baptized without delay*, apprehensive that they might lose the benefit of their "being regenerated" by falling into sin!! This would be incredible, if the evidence were not too strong to be disputed.

3. Roman Catholic Caste-ism. Read the history of black Bartholomew's day in France, of the inquisition, and of crusading massacres to exterminate Protestants. Are these principles quite abandoned in our day? We think not.

4. Episcopal Caste-ism. Turn to the records of civil and military murders, imprisonments, tortures, and oppressions, during the reigns of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and the Stuarts, in the absurd attempt to establish uniformity of opinion and practice in religion; and especially remember that the cruelties of Archbishop Laud have,

in our own day, in the nineteenth century, been extolled as a salutary severity.

5. Presbyterian Caste-ism. Look at the pages of history when the solemn league and covenant was the only form of Christianity the Presbyterian would tolerate. Much of the good which the Commonwealth might have originated was prevented, much of the evil attendant on that period was produced by this form of caste-ism.

6. Pilgrim Fathers' Caste-ism. They conducted a noble contest for religious freedom, but in their American home they and their adherents did not discover that the religious freedom which Christianity ought to introduce, is religious equality. The melancholy result was, imprisonments, fines, exile, and in some few cases, murders according to law. What a blind creature man is, when caste-ism interferes! He looks on his own rights only, and cannot see the rights of others.

7. Bourbon Caste-ism. Peruse the bloody annals of the revolution, or rather succession of revolutions in France. The caste-ism of France had raised a throne that afforded no protection, and an altar that destroyed Christianity and its attendant morals. This had prepared the oppressed classes, in their indignation, to uproot a state of society, which, in the main, was incapable of amendment. In the destruction of much that was evil, much that was excellent no doubt was destroyed. When will the deplorable effects of Bourbon caste-ism terminate?

8. The Caste-ism of Despotism. Try to imagine the wickedness and woe inflicted day after day in France, Russia, Austria, Naples, and other despotic countries. Your imagination is far too feeble for this mighty work. Try your imaginative powers again. What will be the horrors and desolation through which humanity must pass, before the final, but certain overthrow of despotism in all lands? Assassins will only strengthen the despotism.

9. The Caste-ism of Trade. Look at the continent of Africa. In past times it has given birth to philosophers, statesmen, and ministers of the blessed Saviour's gospel. The African slave-trade, carried on by England and other nations professing Christianity, has destroyed a continent containing 200 millions of people!!! When Christianity in its purity and power shall have uprooted caste-ism, Ethiopia shall again stretch out her hands unto God. We fear the day is far distant. This is the caste-ism of those who encourage the man-stealer and the slave-dealer.

10. West Indian Planters' Caste-ism. Look at magistrates, professors of religion, in office and out of office, planters, and the

scum of society, strangely blended together to attempt to perpetuate slavery, by destruction of chapels and mission property, wholesale executions, perjuries and persecutions. They gave the finishing stroke to the wickedness of their system in Jamaica, and overthrew the slavery they had intended to perpetuate. They still thirst for immigration, at the expense of the public. Another edition of the slave-trade, though multitudes have perished miserably in the attempt thus to destroy the rights of the Jamaica peasantry.

11. THE CASTE-ISM OF THE GREAT AMERICAN REPUBLIC. Read her melancholy history: how glorious the commencement—equality of rights for all. It was only glorious *in the words* of her declaration of independence. That document virtually denounced all caste-ism. But what of her deeds? Slavery and prejudice against colour proved that the pride of human nature, an unquenchable thirst for superiority over others, had taken possession of her soul. Would you know the present fruit, visit her slave markets, see the argument of intellect and morals exchanged for the argument of violence and fear. See the pro-slavery adherents holding all the places and patronage connected with the Government, conferred (corruptly, shall we say?) to strengthen the partisans and supporters of slavery. Dare you argue against the "domestic institution" in the United States? Yes, if you do not object to the risk of being taught the power of the revolver, the bludgeon, or the bowie knife. Would you know the future fruit? Imagine society when the rioters in a mob, for bread or for labour, shall have found out that the revolver and the bowie knife are as powerful an argument in his hands as in the hands of the educated senator, with this *trifling* difference, that the mob will be the many and the senators and owners of property the few. Such are the foundations for well-being formed by republican caste-ism. May the providence of God overrule the pride and madness of man.

12. THE CASTE-ISM OF BRITISH SOCIETY. In British society we behold "much that we love, and much that we abhor." Caste-ism might be expected in the British aristocracy, and will be found there when the individual aristocrat labours under the unquenchable thirst of superiority over others, but it is quite as strong, perhaps stronger, in the middle and operative classes. Wherever it exists, it is easy to detect it. It is shown in words when speaking of the intellects and the rights of others. It is shown in actions when controlling the circumstances and rights of others. It so blinds the minds of multitudes that they cannot condescend to understand what is meant by "equality of rights for all classes." They hate the words, and still more the reality, and their creed is, that there is no such thing in the

institutions of God as equality of rights for all. Does the reader doubt, remember the repealed corn laws. Those laws never could have been put into our statute book, and been upheld by fierce and violent argumentation year after year, unless British society had been tainted to the core by the most selfish caste-ism. The effect of the laws whilst they existed was to prevent the poor from purchasing his food at the cheapest market, and, consequently, in scarce times, to rob them and their families of part of their daily bread. At all times to rob them of many of the comforts of suitable clothing and suitable appendages in their dwellings. Thus often sickness and weakness were engendered, ending, in thousands of instances, in death. All classes were injured and a large majority of our nation was deprived of much comfort and much property. Moreover, the progress of internal trade was impeded, and commerce and civilisation in England and in many other countries were checked by those wicked laws. Do you wish to know the mischiefs which these laws produced, and the good which they prevented, read Dunckeley's "Charter of the Nations," the first prize essay on free trade. These laws, with all their injurious influences, were enacted, and for years maintained by majorities in both houses of Parliament, and by large bodies out of Parliament. The results of free trade in the food of the nation, has opened the eyes of ninety-nine men out of every hundred. No candid man will maintain for a moment that all the adherents of the corn law policy were conscious of the wretchedness and wrong produced thereby. The conclusion, however, is inevitable, they were blinded by caste-ism. So much delusion and self-deception never could have existed in the nineteenth century, in an enlightened nation like England, and with a free press, if society had not been deeply influenced by caste-ism. Again, look at the injustice inflicted by unequal taxation. Eight millions of money has already been taken from persons inheriting personal property by bequest, or successions on death, whilst the owners of real property paid no corresponding taxation. The owners of real property enacted the law. In a recent publication a circumstance was stated under which personality of the value of £100,000 given by will would pay in taxation £11,000, and the same value in real estate given by will would pay in taxation £11. Again, examine the annals of the poor under the influence of indirect taxation, and decide, if you can, on the want and the woe arising to the poor from his payment of his excessive proportion of that taxation.

Search and it will be seen that caste-ism in Great Britain and Ireland, and pre-eminently in Ireland, has created most of our poli-

tical, social, and religious difficulties. Society in our beloved country is poisoned, polluted, degraded, and in some respects, endangered by caste-ism. Unless we are greatly mistaken, the promised bill of Parliamentary reform, and the debate arising out of it, will exhibit a fierce battle in the support of caste-ism.

Every man who knows himself must be conscious that the love of superiority over others influences his principles and his practices in some degree. If he be a Christian he will strive to restrain it, and aim to look, not only on his own things, but also on the things of others. There always will be some "who are too proud to own their pride," or so blinded that it is hid from their eyes.

The Sepoys, after they had beguiled their victims into their power by promises to spare life and property, could murder, violate, and mutilate with the most diabolical lust and cruelty, and then with the utmost complacency and self-satisfaction, return thanks to their gods *for having enabled them* to perpetrate such crimes. When death stared the Sepoy in the face, and he was about to be slain for the punishment of his offences, he exulted in the vilest of these crimes. Turn your thoughts to the twelve examples of caste-ism enumerated, and consider the complacency, the self-satisfaction, generally speaking, with which the guilty parties regard the wrong done. The general spread of Christianity has in some degree ameliorated the character of this complacency, but it marks the deep malignity of the disease. It is a crime hateful to God and ought to be hateful to man.

"The trail of the serpent is over them all."

Are these opinions put forth as a justification, or even an amelioration of the conduct of the Sepoys in their murders and their madness? Far otherwise. The design is to exhibit more clearly the malignity of caste-ism, and the depth of its roots in the human heart, which "words that breathe, and thoughts which burn," would alike fail adequately to pourtray, whether found in India or in England.

II. FALSE PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT HAVE ENDANGERED OUR EMPIRE IN INDIA.

The East India Company and their adherents indisputably have been the best rulers that India ever enjoyed. Meagre praise, since the preceding Governments were amongst the most wicked and oppressive on which the sun ever shone. Our rulers in India have encouraged caste-ism in its worst and most wicked forms. In 1781 they established the Mohammedan college at Calcutta, and in 1792 the Sanscrit college at Benares, and there promulgated the laws, the

literature, the religions, and the destructive immorality of the Mohammedan and Hindoo systems.

For a long period they at least sanctioned, perhaps, it might be said promoted, the sensual, polluting, and cruel rights, passions, and practices existent amongst Pagans and Mohammedans, in their temples and superstitious observances. Their adherents in India and in this country, as well in as out of Parliament, proclaimed, with perseverance and pertinacity, that the Hindoos were amongst the most mild, amiable, gentle, and virtuous tribes of mankind. Christianity would have been extremely injurious to them, and would have endangered their code of faith and morals! If the reader should think this too strong, read the speeches in the British Parliament and the periodical literature of the period. At the same time the East India Company threw every impediment in the way of those who wished to translate the Holy Scriptures into the languages of India and to propagate Christianity in those populous countries. The missionaries must not land, or if they landed must be driven from the territory like criminals who would pollute society. Take as an example the conduct observed towards the Rev. Dr. Carey, the greatest man that ever stood on the soil of India, and her greatest benefactor too. The authorities in India would have been glad to prevent him from going at all. Happily he found refuge and protection in the territories of the King of Denmark. It was true he was not then Dr. Carey, but William Carey, who had been a shoemaker, and was then sneeringly called "the consecrated cobler." The then rulers of India, at home or abroad, could not comprehend how a Christian man could resist the power of earthly rulers by the adoption of Dr. Carey's two great principles, "Attempt great things for God;" "Expect great things from God." With these two noble principles governing every day and every movement of his life, he worked on and made himself master of four languages in England, and afterwards of forty-seven of the languages and dialects of Asia. He and his coadjutors, during the life of Dr. Carey, had produced translations of the Holy Scriptures, in whole or in part, into more than forty of these languages and dialects of Asia. He led the way and laid the foundation for the missionary efforts of all the various denominations which have since blessed India. It is nothing to say that afterward all parties, including the rulers, sought to do him honour. That was after public opinion in Great Britain had demanded admission for missionaries into our Indian territories, and when Dr. Carey had obtained a world-wide reputation. The conduct observed towards Dr. Judson and other missionaries was of a similar character.

Dishonour was constantly cast upon the religion of Christ Jesus, which many of the rulers professed. Instead of allowing Christianity to work the gradual amelioration of society, it was crucified by Indian caste-ism on the one side and the traditionary policy on the other. The result of this wicked combination has been the partial overthrow of British power and the unexampled horrors of the late military revolt. But a word for the Company. Their system was originally formed upon the standard of morality and religion prevalent in the mother country at the time. Rulers do not often exceed the national code of morals, and too frequently fall short of it. If this at all relieves the Company, *it makes the crime more decidedly national.*

The ordinance issued, under the authority of Sir John Lawrence, was the subject of a leading article in the *Times* of 4th January. There the "traditionary policy" is most ably and unanswerably placed on its right foundation, and most rotten the foundation is proved to be. The following are extracts:—"The Punjaub has again set a noble example to the rest of India. Sir John Lawrence—the man who crushed every Sepoy in his own province, and provided Sir Archdale Wilson with the means of achieving the like success at Delhi—has now taken the decisive step of liberating Christianity from its disabilities and relieving the profession of the gospel from stigma or prejudice within the limits of his government. Our Calcutta correspondence contained, on Friday last, a notification, issued by Mr. R. Montgomery, one of the officers engaged in the administration of the Punjaub; and admirably, beyond doubt, was the document calculated both to expose the defects of our past policy and to show the facilities of improvement. . . . .

"It is surprising how much, and yet how little, the decree really ordains. It conveys not the smallest menace to native faiths, and yet it raises Christianity from depression. It offers no favour, no bribes, no allurements, to converts; but it promises that they shall not be sufferers for the sake of truth. It carries no interference with caste prejudices, but it deprives caste pretensions of preference. 'The system of caste,' it says, 'can no longer be permitted to *rule* in our services.' The institutions of Brahminism may remain precisely as they are; they will not be touched or threatened by any act of authority; but, for the future, they will not be allowed to govern the policy of a Christian administration. 'Soldiers and Government servants of every class must be entertained for their merits, irrespective of creed, class, or caste.' We should be utterly at a loss to imagine how such principles as these could be impeached, even by the most resolute advocates of traditionary policy, if the language of

the document before us did not reveal a fact of a most significant kind. The truth is, that the 'neutrality' hitherto professed by the Indian Government in religious matters has been no neutrality at all. True neutrality it is evident is expressed in the words above quoted; but these avowedly introduce a policy unknown before. The old neutrality was a deliberate proscription of Christianity for the sake of keeping Hindoos quiet. From a really neutral Government Christianity had a right to expect exactly the same treatment as Brahminism or Mohammedanism, whereas it received nothing of the kind. It was placed under positive disadvantages, and visited with political penalties. The statements of Mr. Montgomery's circular leave no room for doubt or cavil upon the point: 'The native Christians, as a body, have, with rare exceptions, *been set aside*. I know *not one* in the Punjaub (to our disgrace be it said) in any employment under Government; a proposition to employ them in the public service six months ago would assuredly have been received with coldness, *and would not have been complied with.*' Certainly it is high time that such a policy should be changed."

The good old Book speaks plainly: "Jehovah saith, Them that honour me, I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed." The Sepoys lightly esteemed their rulers.

Another false principle of government adopted in India was the extension of territory, as distinguished from concentration of power.

Three great nations, England, Russia, and the United States of America, have each of them acted on this dangerous principle of territorial extension.

Had the concentration of power and the cultivation of the interest of the people been the leading policy of Russia, the late Emperor Nicholas had not died of a broken heart. He would not have lost Sebastopol, because it never would have been under the dominion of Russia. He would not have invaded Turkey. He would not have proved to the world that a million of soldiers in distant military colonies may be a source of weakness instead of strength, when an attack is made on the outskirts of the empire.

The United States of America might have been a powerful and free Republic within reasonable limits. Her principle of extension has bound together provinces and states whose interests are and always must be opposed to each other. The turmoil in Kansas proves it. Nothing short of the whole continent of America, Cuba, and our West Indian Islands, will satisfy her greed of territory. Under the influence of this principle she has adopted, *as a principle of government*, the Buchanan doctrine, that, whatever it is convenient to have, it is lawful to take by force. As certain as that Providence rules

the world, such principles endanger a nation. "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

Let the reader go through the history of India, and mark well the unjust seizure of territory, the wrongs, robberies, and oppression perpetrated by our countrymen, governors, commanders of armies, and officials, in the pursuit of an unwise extension of our Indian possessions. When he reads, let him bow his head in humiliation. Consider well the annexation of Oude, the last and perhaps the most fatal of our measures of extension. Oude is now our great difficulty. We dare not leave it unconquered. It may cost us much blood and treasure, and *years*, to conquer. Had our rulers sought for territory only so far as they could be obtained by negotiation founded on good faith and honourable purchase; had they directed their attention mainly to the extension of commerce, civilisation, and the internal improvement of the country; had subordinates regulated their official and private conduct by the principles acknowledged to be statesmanlike and Christian, there would have been no military revolt, for only a moderate army of Europeans would have been requisite.

III. OUR EMPIRE IN INDIA IS NOT OUT OF DANGER.

A strange delusion has taken possession of public opinion in England. A large majority have arrived at the consolatory conclusion, that when Delhi and Lucknow should have fallen, and the troops sent out to India should have arrived, there would, in a few weeks, be an end of the insurrection. Is not this a great mistake, and is not our empire in India still in danger? Suppose we had an army of 100,000 Europeans in India. What is such an army to the extent of the country? Look at the map of India, the length 1,900 miles, the extreme breadth, 1,500 miles. Consider the number of the population, one-fifth of the world's inhabitants; the hostile feelings founded on opposing religions; the warlike tribes which exist in various localities in India; that in many parts the country could be as easily defended by a small body of troops as the mountainous parts of Wales; that the kingdom of Oude, with her 400 fortresses, is in a central and commanding situation; and that the climate of by far the larger part of India is unfavourable to Europeans, and particularly to European troops, harassed by the privations and fatigues inseparable from warfare, and that often guerilla warfare. Surely, then, India must be brought to submit to British rule by something stronger and more permanent than any army of Europeans which England can permanently sustain.

The dangers existing and to be anticipated, however, will probably

be better understood by referring to the opinions of some of our leading statesmen.

LORD PALMERSTON and his Cabinet have decided that the East India Company shall be abolished, and as the head quarters of the "traditional policy" are in Leadenhall Street, it may be fairly inferred that danger from this quarter will speedily be at an end. Nine-tenths of the people of this country will approve of this decision.

EARL DERBY has emphatically pointed out the imminent danger to which our empire would be exposed, if any attempt should be made by the Government (*as a Government*) to interfere with Christianity. On December 3rd (1857) his lordship spoke as follows:—"No man can be more desirous than myself that the blessings of Christianity should be diffused as widely as possible; and I believe its doctrines would exercise a wholesome influence on minds so depraved and debased as the minds of the population of India. But the more that is my wish, the more I DEPRECATE THE INTERVENTION OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE MATTER (Hear, Hear). IF YOU WISH TO PLACE AN INSUPERABLE BAR AGAINST THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA, PUT THE GOVERNING BODY IN THE POSITION OF INTERFERENCE. You have seen in the case of the greased cartridges with what inflammatory materials you have to deal; and if you mean to render the maintenance of the conquest of India IMPOSSIBLE, you will endeavour to convert the natives by the influence and authority of Government (Hear, hear). I do not mean to say that you should put the slightest check or impediment in the way of the missionaries. I doubt whether they are likely to be very successful; but, as private missionaries, they do not provoke any hostility against the Government, nor have they in the slightest degree alienated the minds of the natives on the present occasion (Hear, hear). By all means give to the missionaries engaged in what I own seems the somewhat hopeless task of Christianising India ALL PROTECTION; but whatever you do in the administration of the Government, SHOW THAT THE GOVERNING BODY STANDS ALOOF BETWEEN THE TWO RELIGIONS, AND WILL EXERCISE NEITHER FORCE NOR INFLUENCE TO PROCURE THE CONVERSION OF ONE SINGLE HINDOO (Hear).

"Though we are bound not to do homage to their slavish superstitions, nor to conceal our own personal profession of Christianity, though we are bound to show by our conduct that our religion is superior to their religion, WE ARE YET BOUND TO ABSTAIN IN THE MOST CAREFUL MANNER FROM ANY, THE SLIGHTEST, INTERFERENCE BY FORCE OR AUTHORITY WITH THEIR RELIGION OR SUPERSTITIONS, however revolting and debasing they be to our feelings (Hear, hear). Any Government encouragement of missionary labours in India

would be a most certain impediment to the advancement of Christianity in that empire" (Hear).

EARL GRANVILLE followed in support of the same views as Earl Derby. He says: "Nothing could, I think, be more injurious to the Christian religion itself, than for the Government to use anything like COMPULSION OR INTERFERENCE TO MAKE CONVERTS. But if it be true that of late years Christianity has been dishonoured in India, it is impossible that such a state of things should be suffered to continue. It is perfectly monstrous, and must tend to lower us and our religion in the eyes of the natives. It is admitted, I believe, on all hands that the missionaries were not the cause of the mutiny; and it is clear that while the Government ought not to interfere with the creeds of the people, it must, as a Christian Government, cause the Christian religion to be respected, and *make universal toleration* the rule throughout its dominion."

EARL GREY on a subsequent day pointed out the high importance of not adopting any line of policy which would arouse hostility in the minds of the natives. He says: "It is as clear as daylight that if it once becomes the opinion of the great body of that people *that the government of their country is carried on by England for purposes inconsistent with their welfare*—if you once create in their minds a feeling that we regard them with hostility, the days of our power are numbered (Hear, hear). NO EFFORT WE CAN MAKE, NO EXERTIONS, NO ARMY WHICH WE CAN EMPLOY, CAN ENABLE US TO COERCE THE MILLIONS OF INDIA, IF THEY ARE REALLY EXCITED AGAINST US."

There is, however, great cause for alarm, as projects for the government of India have been suggested by influential persons having all the dangerous tendencies pointed out by the noble lords previously referred to.

One gentleman, a military man, proposes that a Christian militia should be raised in India. The *Times* says: "He suggests that the profession of Christianity in India should command some such recognition as Lord Ellenborough desired for British blood; that the church under the circumstances of the case should be rendered literally militant, and that a Christian militia, *embracing all races of that faith*, should be organised wherever the materials were discoverable." Try the experiment, and the Christian militia would be found to combine all the bad qualities of the worst of the Sepoys, with the hypocrisy of the false professor of Christianity.

It has also been proposed to treat the 200 millions of India as the inhabitants of a conquered province. Englishmen, of course, must act the character of conquerors. Govern, say they, as France

governs Algeria. Before arriving at such a conclusion, pray examine deliberately the foundations of Lord Grey's opinion, and then decide what must be the number of soldiers and what the amount of annual expenditure necessary to maintain a military despotism. An official report made to the Government of France a few years since reported that 84,000 troops would be required for the Government of Algeria, maintaining a sufficient force in reserve to supply deaths and other casualties. Surely such a mode of government in India is manifestly impracticable, and if practicable, would be manifestly impolitic.

Another suggestion is virtually to form an episcopal establishment for India. It is wished that a great number of bishoprics should be constituted, and that India should be divided into 500 provinces, and that a clergyman should be appointed for each province. The supporters of this extraordinary proposal are already putting forth their energies to procure funds and friends to their cause; but the dangerous part of their demand is that which Earl Derby has pointed out, they ask for "*the sanction and support of the Government.*"

Imagine the effect, if you can, of the statement amongst the native population like the following: "That the Government, which had invented the greased cartridges to destroy our religion, and had been defeated by the power of our gods in their infernal fraud, have now appointed ten gooroos, whom they call bishops, and 500 under gooroos, whom they call clergymen, to rule over us, to compel us to desert our temples and our gods, to destroy our caste, and force us to fall down and worship the God of the Christian dogs. Would you believe it, that the Government have resolved to withdraw all support for our temples and the ceremonies observed in honour of our gods? and on the other hand, they have granted large salaries to these ten gooroos and these 500 under gooroos, and resolved to pay these salaries and all the cost of their schemes and frauds for our conversion out of revenues paid by the natives of India. We will show them how we can despise these false gooroos and under gooroos."

The Mohammedans, the Brahmins, and the native press, would speedily bring such views as these to bear upon the prejudices of the people. What would, then, be the result of the opposing caste-ism of the natives and the caste-ism of the Christians? Would Great Britain not justly reap such a harvest of hostility and hatred as would destroy the very cement of society, and make honest men wish and pray for the annihilation of our empire in India, rather than see the continuance of it in combination with a state in society in which Christianity could not take root and prosper? It would be a counterpart of the history of the opposing caste-ism of Roman Catholicism and the caste-ism of Orange Protestantism in Ireland, only extended

over a larger surface. What would be the responsibility of the promoters of such a scheme? How many centuries would be required (if successfully carried out) to build up the Babel of the opposing caste-isms of the Hindoo, of the Mohammedan, and of the Episcopalian? After being built up into a curse which would taint society to its core, how many centuries more would be required to pull it down and purge away its iniquities? Christianity by persuasion and moral means is the only Christianity which can be safely introduced into India. Christianity in such form would be in accordance with Earl Derby's counsel.

Do not imagine that the natives of India, and especially the conductors of the native press, are strangers to this line of argument. Read the petition to the Imperial Parliament from the members of the Madras Native Association, in 1852. It runs thus:—

"That your petitioners, being aware, from several sources, that both the Anglican and Scottish State Churches are making great efforts, both in this country and in England, for an increase of clergymen on their respective establishments in India, respectfully, but most determinately, remonstrate against any increase to either. They admit the propriety of military chaplains for the European troops, but repudiate the injustice of the people of this country being compelled to support a couple of state establishments for a mere handful of foreigners, professors of a foreign creed; and while they will not object to the number of clergy already in the country, they desire to see them appropriated entirely to the military service, and that whatever augmentation be needed, the requisite funds shall be provided by the individuals by whom such services may be requested. The community to which your petitioners belong supports its own religion—so do the Mohammedans and the various Dissenters from the Church of England at this Presidency; even the Anglicans have commenced to do the same, and justice demands that they should be left as much to themselves as all other sects are. And your petitioners earnestly pray your Honourable House that the people of this country be no further taxed for the maintenance of a number of individuals who are of no earthly use to them; but that their expense may be borne wholly and solely by those persons to whom their ministrations are necessary and acceptable."

Such documents as these ought to have been the subject of deep deliberation and consultation with our Indian rulers at home and abroad for many long years. The warnings have all been ignored, and the revolt came like a thunderbolt. Go on to neglect, and lose the empire of India.

Is the world never to remember that our Great Redeemer declared, "My kingdom is not of this world," and that his apostles taught that "The weapons of their warfare were not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds"?

What is to be done for India? indisputably is a difficult question, and will require much talent and much exalted principle, if the mode of procedure is to be consistent with the safety of our Indian empire.

Should not the first movement be the pacification of India on principles consistent with our Christianity? Should not the second movement be to decide the principles on which the government of India ought to be conducted, which should be such as will become the British nation? The form of government is far less important than the principles, but ought to be such as, under existing circumstances, would be best calculated to bring the principles of our rule to bear upon the welfare of the inhabitants of India.

IV. PROCEEDINGS FOR THE PACIFICATION OF INDIA.

We have heard the first cry, it was for vengeance. We have heard the second cry, it was for justice. When the inquiry was made, What do you mean by justice? the answer has generally shown that the cry of justice merely meant the cry of vengeance. Is this the mode of proving the superiority of the Christian over the Mohammedan and the Pagan? An awful measure of vengeance has already been inflicted. Thousands upon thousands of the Sepoys have been slain. Speaking generally, no quarter was given to the thousands. They were sent to their account before God. Is the reader prepared to listen with patience to a third cry, the Christian's cry of mercy? Bear with some arguments for mercy. CONSIDER THE NATIVES OF INDIA are 200 millions. They are not all guilty. Indeed, comparatively a small number are guilty. Perhaps one or two in a thousand!!! Think of the large majority of the natives who are unstained by crime in this revolt. How will this majority look upon an indiscriminate destruction of all the guilty? Wise rulers will inquire what will the innocent think? Is not mercy the balm best calculated to heal the wounds which have been inflicted, and which, *if not discreetly healed*, may fester. For how long may they fester? For centuries to come!

CONSIDER THE PRICE OF VENGEANCE. Who must be the executioners? Your Havelocks, your Wilsons, your Outrams, your Greatheads, your Campbells, your other brave officers, your brave soldiers. Has not the army suffered enough? Have not thousands fallen in the fields of battle already? Are not the widows and children, the brothers and sisters, the lovers and the friends of the brave, to be seen in their mourning in all the ranks of British society? Let the cry of vengeance go forth, and what then? Be prepared to learn that 10,000 more, perhaps 50,000 more, of your valiant soldiers have been sacrificed by the desperate and despairing Sepoys to satisfy your cry. Let mercy interpose, and save these thousands whom you profess to admire and to love.

IS NOT MERCY THE MOST BRILLIANT JEWEL IN A CROWN? Remember the conduct of the Emperor of Russia in Poland, and of the Emperor of Austria in Hungary. Examine what they did, and what the British press and the British public said, and that will teach the lesson of mercy and the reasons for it. Every well-wisher of his country would wish that our beloved Queen, the most popular of the world's monarchs, should have the rich gem of mercy to 200 millions placed in her crown. Besides, a merciful pacification is the best foundation for our future dominion over the mixed tribes of India. Mercy will tell well to-day, and, with future discretion, mercy will tell well on countless millions yet unborn in the records of India's history.

CONSIDER THE EFFECT OF MERCY ON THE GUILTY. They consist of two classes: those whose crime is mutiny, and those who are guilty of mutiny, combined with murder, or mutilation, or violation. A proclamation of mercy in each section of the country might grant an amnesty for those whose crime was mutiny only on submission within a certain day, and on delivering to the authorities in each locality the arms, ammunition, and purloined treasure, or other property, in the possession or power of the party surrendering. The proclamation might promise to spare the lives of all the guilty; but those guilty of murder, mutilation, or violation, might be subjected to a trial by a civil tribunal, and on being found guilty be sentenced to penal servitude, transportation, or imprisonment for life. Such a proclamation would divide the guilty into two bodies, whose interests would be at variance the one with the other. Some, perhaps many, of the less guilty would surrender to obtain a pardon; the most guilty would be in constant fear of being brought to justice to secure the rewards, which might be offered for their apprehension and conviction.

AGAIN, CONSIDER THE SEPOYS ARE NOT THE ONLY GUILTY PARTIES. Much of the blame must be borne by the supporters of the "traditionary policy." But the Government at home and the British nation knew, *to a great extent*, what was being perpetrated in India, and did little or nothing to prevent. We, therefore, as a nation are guilty, and Providence has punished us, and as a nation we are suffering, *and shall suffer for* YEARS TO COME.

V. PRINCIPLES IMPORTANT TO BE RESPECTED IN THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Having urged that the pacification of India should be attempted in a Christian spirit, the writer's primary object is accomplished, but a few words as to the future.

When the Queen of these realms shall take the *direct* government of India, it may be presumed that some public communication will be made to her Majesty's subjects in that continent. Such communication, and the statute on which constitutionally it must be founded, would be regarded as a charter for India by the loyal and well-disposed natives, and may be made a valuable instrument of pacification.

The PRINCIPLES of the future government are wholly distinct from the FORM of that government. It would be premature to discuss the form, until the plan of Lord Palmerston shall have been declared in Parliament.

The principle for which the public should most strenuously contend is religious equality. Any other principle, which statesmen may dignify with the name of religious liberty, or universal toleration, would be dangerous to our empire in India, on the grounds before stated by Earl Derby and Earl Grey.

The author of this pamphlet had written thus far, when he met with Archbishop Whateley's speech at a meeting of the Church Missionary Society, recently held in Dublin, maintaining opinions corresponding with those of Earls Derby and Grey, accompanied by convincing argumentation. The speech could not be introduced before, as the manuscript was with the printer; it is therefore inserted here. His Grace said: "It appears that the propagation of the gospel in India, as far it had gone, so far from conducing to this revolt, had been one of the greatest checks to it. It appears that not only the native Christians had no share in the revolt, and had continued faithful and firm in their allegiance, and have shown themselves in many cases most exemplary martyrs for the cause, but that no suspicions or apprehensions were entertained against our missionaries, but only against the Government. There seemed to be an apprehension spread far and wide that the Government were intending to force the Christian religion upon the people of India, and that it is that alarms them, but the missionaries they fear not. And the inference to be drawn from that is, why has not the whole peninsula of India been overspread with missionary stations? Government would certainly have allowed twenty times as many mission stations to be established as have been established. We cannot say that Government, whatever its faults may have been, has prevented that. Had we performed our duty in such a manner as would have overspread the whole peninsula of India with missionary stations, the probable result would have been that this revolt would not have

broken out, or would have been speedily crushed. Now, I take this occasion to state distinctly that I earnestly deprecate all allusions to Government. I may add, that as I shall, of course, deprecate the opposition of Government to our efforts, so I shall, if possible, still more deprecate any assistance of Government, as Government, to it, as it will excite the greatest degree of suspicion and alarm, and raise the greatest prejudice against Christianity. I should say that the maxim of this society as a missionary society, with reference to Government, ought to be the same as the answer given by the French merchant to the minister who asked how Government could aid and forward the commerce of France. His answer was, 'Laissez nous faire'—let us alone. We should recollect that Government is an agent which possesses physical power: and if Government, therefore, were even suspected of coming forward to aid missionary efforts by its own power, it would be suspected of exerting physical force, than which nothing could be more fatal to the cause. I say it would be disastrous in any state of society, and it would be more peculiarly disastrous in such a country as India—for this reason, that it is impossible to take away the religion of the Hindoo by main force, which, I believe, is what cannot be said of any other religion under the sun. In all countries, but more particularly in that country, any interference of Government must excite peculiar suspicion; but as to the missionary efforts, they have no fear of them, because it is open to every one to listen or to refuse to listen to them as he pleases. I do think that the calamities in India are in some degree to be considered as judgments not supernatural, but natural, upon our culpable neglect in not having overspread the whole peninsula of India, which it was free to us to do, with missionary stations and schools for those of the natives that choose to frequent them. And I do hope that we shall learn wisdom by what has passed. Let us not come forward to seek aid of Government; let not Government appear in a prominent manner at all; but let us come forward with our own money, our own exertions, and ask Government for nothing more than that they shall let us alone, and not interfere with or hinder our operations."

We resume our argument. In European nations it would be assumed, that whatever alterations were made in the form of Government, the protection of life, of personal liberty, and of individual property, would be the three leading principles, without any declaration to that effect. Not so in India. There the

religions and religious observances of the natives are mixed up with society and its daily operations, and, therefore, distinct provisions for the maintenance of them are indispensable, for the protection of all religions and all creeds. It would be necessary to make the natives of India understand that under that protection, no Christian, Jew, Mohammedan, Hindoo, or other religionist would be allowed to interfere with the life, personal liberty, or individual property of others.

What a proud day would it be for our beloved Sovereign and for the whole empire, if the barbarities of the revolt should be answered not by massacres and executions, but by a proclamation, declaring to the inhabitants of India, amongst other things, that the principles of government would include:—

PROTECTION FOR LIFE,
PROTECTION FOR PERSONAL LIBERTY,
PROTECTION FOR INDIVIDUAL PROPERY,
PROTECTION FOR ALL RELIGIONS AND ALL CREEDS,
PROTECTION FOR COMMERCE WITH ALL THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH, and
JUSTICE IN PROPERLY CONSTITUTED COURTS OF LAW FOR ALL CLASSES.

Let the reader remember, that these rights *have not been enjoyed* under the Government of India for any portion of the last hundred years. They can be secured, to a great extent, if the British people, and Parliament, and Government, will be resolute and firm in uprooting the monopoly now existing, with all its traditions, and fallacies, and frauds. No doubt many, a very large majority of the officials acting in India, must be retained in carrying on the future government; but all those, whether high or low, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or Pagan, who by their mode of conducting their official duties, especially their judicial duties, shall oppose the intended reform, in any department of the Indian administration, ought to be uniformly and promptly discharged from office, as men most dangerous to the continuance of the British empire in India.

If any shall assert that it is impossible for Great Britain to secure these rights to the natives of India, and such assertion should prove to be true (which we do not credit), then surely the empire of India *ought* to pass away into other hands.

CONCLUSION.

VI. THE DUTY OF BRITISH CHRISTIANS.

In conclusion, we add an extract from the *Freeman*, as to Christian duty:—

"Every motive which ought to be powerful with Christian men concurs with irresistible converging force on to the point—TO WIN INDIA FOR CHRIST. Duties are ever duties, and no circumstances can increase the absoluteness of their obligation; but circumstances may increase the pressure to our judgments of even perpetual obligations; and there may come times, specially marked out by Providence, the Lord of circumstances, for the special discharge of even perpetual duties. In such a time we stand as regards India. Ever has the duty of carrying light in among its cane temples been ours. Ever it has been true that that swarming population—one-seventh of the whole race—has been rising into brief life, gleaming for a moment on the surface, and taking the leap over the cataract down the black abyss, within the reach of our arms and the light of our gospel. For all the years of English conquest, we have been charged with the task of making known Christ to them. But now, over and above all the considerations which arise from the magnitude of the population, from the darkness of their idolatry, and from our connection with them, come a crowd of others, born of these last fearful events, and making the work more imperative than ever. A hundred years ago we won India by strong arms and clear brains. We thought we won it without God, and we held it for ourselves. To-day we find ourselves at the end of the first epoch of our dominion. Once more we have won it. . . . . . .

"If India, won again to the British Crown, is to be kept, what stronger rampart can be added to our existing defences than that of native converts? Every Christian church will be a new out-post for England—a fresh nervous centre, as it were, from which the life derived from hence may radiate.

Carry on the work of Christianising India as Carey did, when he laid the foundations for that work, in faith, more than half-a-century ago. Keep in your constant contemplation his two great principles of action,

"ATTEMPT GREAT THINGS FOR GOD."
"EXPECT GREAT THINGS FROM GOD."

And the Christians of our beloved country will not work in vain!

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